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AMERICA IN THE WAR AND AMERICA IN THE PEACE

Addressed by

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Manzanar War Relocation Center
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This was the concluding address in a series of 8 discussions called "America in the Making" which was sponsored jointly by the Administration and Town Hall. The other meetings were panel discussions in which staff members and evacuees participated.

We come tonight to the last of the series of 8 panel discussions on "America in the Making". Our assigned subject is "America in the War, and America in the Peace". Those who planned these panels, representatives of Town Hall and the Administration, in their own wisdom decided that at this meeting there should be a discussion of the changes that are taking place in American living due to the war, the problems of Americans after the war, and a discussion about the ways of a post-war world. If there ever was a $64.00 question this is it. If ever there was a discussion which needed the combined experience and intelligence of all those who are most widely recognized as authorities and whose words are most acceptable as teachers this is such an occasion. Those who planned these meetings asked me to be your speaker. I do so against my better judgment, humbly and freely admitting that my views are not important. I am neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet. I have lived just long enough to know that there are no final answers to human problems. The best that can be done is not to give final answers or definite plans but to describe what the Japanese call "the way". To state some of the questions that are important to you and to America and the World and to point out some "ways" to find facts that seem to have important values, is all I undertake to do. Then in turn I ask that the entire audience tonight become members of this final panel so that we may in a frank, free, and friendly fashion say whatever anyone wants to say on the points presented or on any others that will be helpful to all of us.

And so, in the hope of developing further and clearer conclusions I open the subject for discussion.

To those of us who have lived in a War Relocation Center for two years there are certain questions which appear again and again and which require clear and definite answers. If the so-called Japanese problem is to be

settled in the minds of America for persons of Japanese ancestry, and if persons of Japanese ancestry are to become a part and parcel of the American way of living, let us state some of these Manzanar questions and then let me give you my answers in a simple and very brief form.

Was evacuation justified? Are relocation centers permanent? Was segregation justified? What is the future of the Issei? What is the future of the Nisei? What about returning to California?

Evacuation is justified on the ground that, in time of war, military authorities are obligated to take any steps authorized by the government and necessary to the internal security of the country or for the defense of the country. The evacuation of 1942 has been, and always will be, justified on the ground of military necessity. I have not said that the evacuation was just, but that it was justified. Because the Pacific Coast was not attacked by Japan we can never tell the losses that would have taken place had there been an attempt at invasion. Contrasted with the tragedy, losses, disillusionment and bitterness to those who were evacuated from the Pacific Coast to Assembly Centers and Relocation Centers there begin to appear many great and lasting values which with time will be recognized and appreciated, particularly by those who themselves were evacuated. Had there been no evacuation, persons of Japanese ancestry would have continued to be a minority group, little known to most of the country, the target of the exclusionist group who for many years have attacked some minority in the State of California. If 60% of the persons of Japanese ancestry had continued to live in 7 neighboring counties in California, the time would shortly have come when the children of alien immigrants, educated in the schools and colleges of California, by reason of the congestion of their population in an area from Fresno southward to San Diego, would have found it increasingly difficult to get the type of jobs for which they were being educated. These young citizens would either

have been forced back to the type of labor in which their fathers engaged or else would have increasingly become the subjects of violent controversy, or else would have been obliged to start out alone and unaided attempting to make their way in a world in which there was increasingly difficulty of acceptance. While it was not an intended, the result of the evacuation is that every loyal citizen of Japanese ancestry has every form of opportunity for which he is suited by training and experience opened to him throughout the country by the friendly, cooperative, and helpful part of the Government. Without evacuation relocation with its many benefits to the younger group would never have happened. Without evacuation the Government would not have been interested, nor would the public have been educated to understand and be so helpful. If these writers and workers interpret the family position to mean the welfare and development of the children rather than the protection and support of themselves in their old age, then I believe almost every father and mother now living or will soon have that the evacuation has given to their children opportunities that they themselves could never have revealed for their own families. Young citizens of Japanese ancestry going out from Manzanar are not better trained, more stable, more deeply conscious of their rights of citizenship and their obligations as citizens than they would have been had evacuation not taken place. Elsewhere, I believe that in the long pull, in the terms of human values properly used, there may be enough good to offset the property and financial loss and the distress of the evacuation. Beyond the military necessity evacuation is justified by the return of the human values of our Japanese American citizenship.

One interesting aspect permanent by nature is that none of these workers will be reimbursed by the Government as long as there are persons of Japanese ancestry who were evacuated who are not, and, so far other sources are unable

to support themselves. While relocation is voluntary it is also based on good faith between the evacuee and the Government. Relocation centers are not the places to raise children, or for older people to lead a sheltered and secure existence to avoid the responsibilities of normal living. Since many Issei men are above 65 years of age some of these elderly people will not be able from here on to take care of themselves. It is clear that there will be some kind of Government settlement camp for those of this group who desire to continue to live in America, but that the life of any such project is limited at the outside to the few years remaining to persons who no longer have any ability to make their own living. No, relocation centers are not permanent but -- yes, they will continue so long as they must render a needed and necessary and demonstrated human service.

Was segregation justified? Yes, segregation was justified and necessary. Whether the method that was used was the best, only time can tell. The fact remains it was the best method known at the moment. At any time when there are large numbers of people holding citizenship in a country, or aliens who are residents of a country who are not sympathetic to the Government of that country and whose allegiance lies primarily with an enemy country, then such persons should and must be segregated from the rights and opportunities enjoyed by those who are loyal to the country of which they are part and in which they live. But through necessity of family obligations and for other reasons, the segregation to Tule Lake included many people who were not disloyal to the U. S. It may very well be that further sifting of loyalties will be made. At that time some of the errors or failures of earlier judgments will be remedied. However, in the protection of the vast majority of local persons of Japanese ancestry as well as in protection of the Government of the U. S. the segregation to Tule Lake was justified.

What is the future of the Issei? I believe that the answer to that question is that for those of the Issei who swear to obey the laws of the U. S., who in spirit as well as in fact do obey those laws, who are living to make their children loyal American citizens and who are willing to continue to be cooperative in a country where many opportunities will always be open to them, the future is as good as is the future of any persons of similar station and age. In America we speak English. In America we think as Americans think. In America we stand up and fight our way to recognition and participation in those things that have to do with strengthening of this country. Those native born Japanese who are residents in this country who enter into American life in that spirit will, in most of the areas of the country, find as great an opportunity for themselves as any other people of similar ability and experience. In certain other areas of the country where prejudice and misunderstanding and intolerance exist they will have to confront and overcome those factors if in their own judgment they want to undertake the hardships that such surroundings may create for them.

What is the future of the Nisei? The future of the Nisei is as good as the Nisei choose to make it. The history of every immigrant group that has come to the U. S. is that their second generation has attained for itself a higher level of living than their immigrant fathers enjoyed. That is why the immigrants come to America. This is the pattern of the Nisei. Third and fourth generations of every other immigrant group have become a part of the economic thinking, the political action, and the spiritual strength of the country. The Nisei will achieve this in proportion as they make their contribution and divorce themselves from racial groups and become part and parcel of the 130 million people scattered over all of the 48 states of this Union. This opportunity is open to the Nisei as it is open to everyone else. I believe that in the next generation we will see doctors, lawyers,

teachers, scientists, newspaper men, and people throughout the business and religious groups of America who have Japanese names and Japanese faces but who are thoroughly American in thinking and living and contributing.

To cap all these questions there is, of course, the final $64.00 question. What about the return to California? There are many people of Japanese ancestry who look upon California rather than America as their home. To them Japan is only a memory, America, outside California, is the great unknown adventure, but California is beautiful and profitable. The answer is: return to California by persons of Japanese ancestry is entirely and solely in the hands of military authorities. It is certain that the military exclusion will cease at the end of the war. It is probable that it will cease much before the end of the war. Whenever exclusion from California comes to an end it will be a moment of triumph and happiness for persons of Japanese ancestry who will then have the right of return. The great question is not will the Japanese have the right to return but should the Japanese return? I trust that there will be enough of good counsel and self-restraint, so that when persons of Japanese ancestry are restored to the right of return to California they will recognize that there are more important things in this world than the exercise of rights.

Is it wise to return to California? With all its history of racial feelings and its known antagonism, particularly towards persons of Japanese ancestry, should California be the goal of the Japanese? For the sake of our young citizens and their children's children, and for the sake of national and international good will, I personally and unofficially believe that, regardless of whatever rights may be restored, the future of a majority of persons of Japanese ancestry in this country lies in resettlement outside California. This is the time to make that decision and to make that move. I do not say that the few

with property in California should leave or lose their property. I speak of people in general and for the good of the whole.

Having thus tried to find simple, helpful and honest answers to the questions that have to do with persons of Japanese ancestry, let us now assume that we are all looking forward to a life in America. Let us look for a few minutes at some of the questions which involve the changes that are taking place in the American way of living due to the war, and how they will affect us after the war. Again let us pick out of the blue a few sample questions and see how the answers might look when put down in cold language. If I were to select important but tough questions I would ask: Is America tending toward a return to isolationism, America First, or is America now prepared to participate in world affairs? Is America with the present and prospective indebtedness more than 10 times that which was thought to be payable in the last war headed toward bankruptcy as a nation? Has America come to the end of its economic development? Who is going to control America in the future?

Having no crystal ball and fully realizing that everyone is free to have his own answer to any of these questions, I venture to give you my present views solely as the means for starting a discussion or, at least, of starting a way of thinking about questions for which we must find some answers if the American democratic ideal is to be achieved.

I believe, that never again will America be an isolationist nation. I believe that more and more this country will, when it ceases fighting beside 30 other nations against the Axis powers, continue to participate with the United Nations in world affairs, not for imperialism but for the creation of an economic and social and spiritual freedom, the outcome of which will

be peace, security, and stability. We are committed to such a program -- never again can we neglect our commitments.

Though we may have 10 or more times the national debt of 25 years ago I do not believe that any nation can become bankrupt until its debts have exceeded the sum total of all of its resources. I believe that indebtedness is purely a matter of bookkeeping and that the world is not bound by bookkeeping until it agrees that the books are correct and closed. The discussions of indebtedness are discussions of confusing matters by which some people attempt to obtain and hold power. We are told that a debt of 200 billion dollars can never be paid. But whom do we owe? Ourselves. Do men break under a debt owed themselves? Of course not. History clearly shows that nations that were supposed to be bankrupt or to have little or no economic resources only ten years ago, such as Germany, Italy, and Japan, are today holding the rest of the world at bay by the sheer force of armed might built up out of sufficient economic resources obtained by some mysterious method of bookkeeping that has given them as great an armed force as our own. The discussion of debt comes back to the balancing of the will of people, and their technical training, and their willingness to sacrifice against piles of gold. We are not bankrupt until we lose the will to use our resources of mind and the materials available to us wherever they are found. No, we are not bankrupt as a nation and we never will be with a will to work, a will to sacrifice and a will to create a better world.

And who is to control America? The control of this U. S. Government will never lie with one man, nor with one group of men, nor will it lie with this political party or that political party, except only as the man or the group or the party have the support of the majority of the people of the country. We are a democracy. A democracy is government by the consent of the governed. We hear today the discussion of whether one man is entitled to

a fourth term as President. The answer is that no man is entitled to a fourth term or a first term unless the majority of the people agree by their vote that he is entitled to it. It is not the number of years that is important, it is whether leadership springs from the free will of a free people. If control lies with the wrong people in this country at any time it is solely because in a town, state, or in the nation the majority of people have given the control to some person or some group who are later found unfaithful to their trust. The millions of American men in the Armed Services or faithful on the home front, will control an America of tomorrow.

In my opinion the great defeat of the last war was not the defeat of Germany administered to them by the Allied Nations, but the defeat which the Allied Nations administered to themselves after the Armistice and at the Peace Table. They believed that security, stability, and peace were to be achieved by the returning to conditions that existed in the complacent era before 1914. So completely did the Allies believe this that peace was based on reparations too great to be payable and upon an attempt to outlaw the submarine and the tank. Air power was ignored. Thereafter, in 1923, they sunk their own navies. Regardless of the military victories in the present war the victors will be those who will learn the lessons of this war and use for the good of mankind its new techniques and through them march on in the direction of human progress. Defeats will ultimately come only to those who try to turn back to restore a world of past years which not only can not come again but should not come again. A top will stand up only as long as it spins. A bicycle will make progress and carry its rider only as long as its wheels turn. The future of America and the future of the world must, if it is to be a record of human progress, be an era not of standing still but of moving forward even against old ideas and great obstacles.

There have been many times that people have felt that America had expanded to the limits of its economic strength and opportunities. There is a statement in the records of this government which has always given me some encouragement for a very personal reason. That statement is this -- "Industry has been enormously developed, cities have been transformed, distances covered, a new set of economic tools has been given in profusion to all and in most reasonable amounts to the poor. New manufacturing may continue, but there is little room for marked extension, such as has been witnessed during the past 50 years, or to afford employment of the vast amount of capital which has been created. The day of large profits is passed". That statement was made by the U. S. Commissioner of Labor in his annual report in the year in which I was born.

I grew up on the ranches of one of the largest land holding companies that this country has seen in modern times. I have seen immigrants from China, Italy, and from Japan brought to this country to work the land of that and other corporations. I have seen the children of many of those immigrants become citizens of this country with more education and a higher standard of living than their parents ever enjoyed or dreamed of. I have seen depressions come and go. I have seen this great corporation, for which my father and I both worked, with its 10 million acres of land, its hundreds of thousands of cattle, break up and become intensified farms. Its streams have been harnassed to create electric power, and a thousand times as many people now live on the farms and in the towns that replaced these old ranches than all the cattle that ever grazed on the grass of its rich lands. I have seen a war fought to end all wars, but again we are at war. In my life I have seen almost every economic theory upon which business and Government once rested as the final word in their bible completely revised or offset or discarded. Among many thousands of

others I believe that the future of this country and of the world is going to be as good or as bad as we the people acting in concert choose to make it for human happiness or human misery. There is no limit to our opportunities in business or as nations so long as we are a free people.

Let us now go on for a moment further and with the aid of a crystal ball pick out of the blue a few more questions that have to do with a post war world. We assume, of course, that the United Nations are today on a march toward complete victory and unconditional defeat of our Axis enemies. The victory will not come out of any preparedness that we made prior to four years ago. The victory will come solely from the will of all of the people on our side created since we were attacked to overcome and wipe out the threat to world peace created by some groups of men in Germany, Italy, and Japan. By blood and sweat and tears military victory is now coming to our side.

The question will then arise: What do we, as victors, propose to do with our victory? Real victories are not won on the battlefield. The records may show great acts of heroism, superb tactics of military commanders, and the eventual surrender of the weaker side. But victories that bring peace are born of decisions that are made when the sound of battle has died and men attempt to return the world to the arts of peace. The decisions made after the last war bred the present war. The Allied Nations defeated themselves in the last war by two clear mistakes. The first mistake was they believed that defeated or lesser nations could be deprived of hope of economic opportunity, and the second was that the victorious nations could live thereafter in peace and without further responsibilities. The result was that Germany, Italy, and Japan each built a philosophy for their people; new, untried, and wholly fantastic philosophies which we know as Nazism, Facism, and Hakko Ichiu. The victors became self-complacent, self-satisfied,

soft, and insensible to those things which were going on which pointed to their destruction. Against them was built a war machine that almost achieved mastery of the world. Therefore, when the smoke of this war clears away the test is going to be, as Winston Churchill once said after the last war -- "The true measure of nations is what they can do when they are tired". Those nations which after this war attempt to demobilize because of war weariness and to return to "normal" living will lose their place in the world and lose the opportunity of their people to make progress toward human happiness.

And so in a practical way what do we do about it? I believe that these facts are becoming clearer everyday -- first that there must be an agreement between the victor nations to maintain and keep open the avenues of all human progress. Second -- the economic prizes of war as we have always known them heretofore in lands, materials, and gold, no longer have value as prizes as in days gone by. And third -- that there must be a general recognition throughout the world that there is no such thing as superiority of race, of culture, of thinking, or of nations, over other races or nations, but that all people whatever their origin are capable of responding to the same level of human accomplishment given equal opportunities for living, education, and freedom.

How are the channels to freedom and human happiness to be kept open? What nations have the most direct responsibility? Look at a map of the world, not as geography was taught when I went to school, but the air map of the world which pictures geography as it is today. The great sea of tommorrow is not the Mediterranean Sea or the Atlantic nor the Pacific, but the important sea of the future surrounds the N$_o$rth Pole. The Arctic is the ocean around which the events of the future center. By transportation back

and forth across this frozen area of the world's surface, which is more easily accomplished today than transportation was accomplished across the United States 50 years ago, the people and the forces of the future world lie in close contact. This area includes North America, China, and Russia. Transport planes in everyday use in this war setting their compasses almost due North from where we stand will arrive in Moscow. Or setting them a little to the West they will arrive in the capitol of China. In this vast area lie more than one half the people and most of the valuable economic resources of the world. The future of the world does not lie in the power of the British Navy, nor does it lie in the isolated position of America due to the existence of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Neither America nor Britain together, nor either alone can police or protect the world of tomorrow. I believe that the future of the world lies in an agreement of human progress, without imperialism, to be made by the great nations of Russia, China, and United States. Without them the world falls apart. With them and such other cooperation as will voluntarily be given to them the world will hold together and progress. I believe that always the U. S. and Great Britain will stand together as English speaking people of common heritage, but I am pointing out that one of the most startling facts developed by this war is that the power of the British Navy is no longer the great power to police the world and the British Empire is not advantageously situated so as to control the new world of the air, but disadvantageously situated in that it lies on the rim and the outskirts of the potential forces which can and will control the world. And so I name Russia, China, with Britain and America as the cooperating powers in a peaceful world.

In past ages conquerors have gained world prestige by the inclusion of more territorities in their boundaries. In the last war settlement was

made on the bais of attempting to force the defeated Germans to the payment of huge sums of money. In this war aggressor nations have attempted to seize great economic resources like oil and rubber so that they might be victorious. Is peace to be made after this war by changing boundaries, piling up reparation payments, or grabbing for the prizes of oil fields and mines? To my way of thinking the so-called economic prizes have lost their value as settlements for reparations. At Fort Knox in Kentucky we have buried most of the gold of the world. Ten years ago this had a value of $20.00 per ounce. By writing on a piece of paper the value of this gold has been changed to $35.00 an ounce. What is to prevent a new piece of paper saying that it is worth $3,000.00 an ounce, or that it has no value? With no guaranteed basis of gold value there can be no agreed basis of payments of debts between victorious nations and defeated aggressors. With synthetic rubber plants in the U. S. producing during the coming year a tonnage of rubber equal to all the tonnage that was produced in the plantations in the South Pacific four years ago, of what value has been the acquisition to the Japanese of these great rubber resources? Natural rubber may be better rubber than the synthetic but the synthetic which we produce is ours. It is cheap. It will do better work than that rubber produced 20 years ago from any source. Synthetic petroleum has been developed during the course of this war to the point where we are no longer afraid of the losses of our natural petroleum resources. Substitutions have been developed in every line for the materials heretofore believed indispensable. And so where are the values of the economic prizes? The frank answer is that most of them have gone the same way as have the economic theories and laws of other years. When we make peace do we exact payments, take territories, or seize resources? The answer is that these are either illusions or liabilities.

A new basis of peace must, therefore, be determined after this war. The new peace must be based upon a new conception of the world in which we live, a new appraisal of economic and spiritual values and methods of opening the channels of human development. Only by raising the general level of living standards to all men will the cost of this war be paid in money terms.

But the last point that will inevitably be raised in any such discussion is that some people of the world are born to rule, that some people of the world have more brains than others, that there are superior races who must govern the inferior, that all people cannot participate in the affairs of the world on a basis of equality with all others. There is no scientific truth in this idea. On our side in this war there are white men, yellow men, black men, and red men. There are people from the tropics and the arctic -- people of every known racial origin with all colors of skin, textures of hair, shapes of noses, allied together in the common cause of the United Nations.

To those who say that inter-racial relations can never stand the test of long time association in a common cause let us point to the ancestry of the people of these United States:

The ancestors of

10	million	of	us	came	from	Ireland
15	"	"	"	"	"	Germany
60	"	"	"	"	"	Great Britain
13	"	"	"	"	"	Africa
9	"	"	"	"	"	Slavic Lands
5	"	"	"	"	"	Italy
4	"	"	"	"	"	Scandanavia
4	"	"	"	"	"	France
3½	"	"	"	"	"	Mexico
1	"	"	"	"	"	Greece
1	"	"	"	"	"	Lithuania
360	thousand	"	"	"	"	American Indian
127	"	"	"	"	"	Japan
97	"	"	"	"	"	China
45	"	"	"	"	"	Phillipines

and yet we are today the United States of America!

We are all immigrants except the Indians. More journals are published and read in more languages in America per capita of population than in all of Europe. All race cultures and all children of all nationalities are set down in America in a Christian democracy where there is admittedly certain friction and controversy, but where there is progress toward unity, harmony and a united people. What will work in the United States will work in the world under opportunity for freedom of religion, of speech, and from intolerance.

To create a future peace of the world we must create opportunities for development for any and all groups of persons in any and all places according to their desires so long as they do not disturb and destroy the peace of all and right of free living on the part of other people.

The world after the war can either be a world that is tired, disheartened, destroyed and mutilated, a world that will develop the seeds and roots of new wars, of retrogression, and eventually of destruction -- or it can be a world full of hope and full of progress for all people who are willing to make the sacrifice to overcome the tiredness, tragedy, and the bitterness of misunderstandings bred by war, a world of opportunity for the masses of the world who are pushing their way upward toward freedom and equality.

So this is what I believe and I offer it in the hope that we go on together working and thinking toward the end that governments "of the people and by the people and for the people may not perish from the earth".